

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5252

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: UNGA, SHUM, SOCI, SGEN

SUBJECT: THIRD COMMITTEE OF THE 30TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

1. SUMMARY. THE MOST TUMULTUOUS SESSION OF THE GA ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN MORE THAN A DECADE RECONFIRMED PAST SUSPICIONS AND PROVIDED NEW INSIGHTS. IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS THE UNGA ONCE AGAIN PROVED THAT IT IS A BODY UNCONGENIAL TO US INTERESTS AND VALUES. WHAT POSSIBILITIES EXIST MUST USUALLY BE CREATED BY OURSELVES AND TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF WITH COURAGE AND CONVICTION WITHOUT COUNTING ON SOLID SUPPORT FROM US ALLIES AND FRIENDS OR ANY IMMEDIATE PROSPECT OF PROGRESS OR SUCCESS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE STARTING POINT. IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE GA SECRETARY KISSINGER EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CALLED ON THE ASSEMBLY TO ADOPT A DECLARATION ON TORTURE AND APPOINT AN EXPERT GROUP TO MAKE INVESTIGATIONS ON THE USE OF TORTURE. IN LINE WITH THIS EMPHASIS THE US DEL REALIZED THAT, WHILE SELF-DETERMINATION AND SOME ECONOMIC RIGHTS FOR INDIVIDUALS WERE GIVEN ATTENTION AT THE UN, LITTLE OR NO ATTENTION WAS PUT ON PRESERVING OR EXPANDING INDIVIDUAL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS. THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DEL UALSO REALIZED THAT ACTIVE PUBLIC CONCERN WOULD BR

FAR MORE EFFECTIVE IN PROTECTING HUMAN RIGHTS THAN A CONTINUATION OF THE ENDLESS CHORE OF ELABORATING DOCUMENTS WITHOUT EVER GENERATING THE PUBLIC SUPPORT NEEDED TO MAKE THEM EFFECTIVE. THE DEL WAS ALSO DETERMINED TO SPEAK OUT FORCEFULLY AGAINST LETTING THE LANGUAGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS BECOME MERELY ANOTHER WEAPON IN THE IDEOLOGICAL ARSENAL OF SOVIET AND LEFTWING RADICAL REGIMES.

3. RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. IN CONTRAST TO EARLIER SESSIONS WHEN THE DISCUSSION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION PROVIDED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL DELS TO AGREE ON AN IMPORTANT UN PROGRAM, A SMALL NUMBER OF RADICAL COUNTRIES SUCCEEDED IN MAKING THIS THE MOST NOTORIOUS AND CONTENTIOUS ITEM OF THE 30TH GA. CONSIDERATION OF THE ITEM EXTENDED OVER A SEVEN-WEEK PERIOD FROM SEPTEMBER 25 TO NOVEMBER 10. THE ACTION COMMENCED IN EARNEST ON OCTOBER 3. WHEN CUBA, DEMOCRATIC YEMEN, LIBYA, SOMALIA, SYRIA SUBMITTED AMENDMENTS TO A CONSENSUS RES PRODUCED BY ECOSOC ON THE PROGRAM FOR THE DECADE TO ELIMINATE RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. THE AMENDMENTS INCLUDED ZIONISM AS ONE OF THE FORMS OF RACISM TO BE ELIMINATED.

4. FROM THE START THE US AND ISRAEL WERE BOTH FIRM IN THEIR POSITION THAT, IF THE AMENDMENTS WERE ADOPTED, THEY WOULD VOTE AGAINST THE ENTIRE RES ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. IN CONTRAST THE EC9 IN NY RECOMMENDED TO THEIR CAPITALS THAT THEY WOULD VOTE AGAINST THE AMENDMENTS BUT ABSTAIN ON THE RES. WHEN THE VOTE ON THE AMENDMENTS WAS EXPECTED, AFTER LOBBYING BY ALL LEVELS OF USUN, A FIRMER POSITION BY SOME EC9 CAPITALS, AND FINALLY AN EC9 AMBASSADORIAL-LEVEL MEETING IN NY CALLED BY THE BRITISH, THE EC9 DECIDED TO VOTE AGAINST THE RES IF THE AMENDMENTS PASSED. THE NORDICS HAD INSTRUCTIONS TO FOLLOW THE EC9 POSITION. WHEN THESE POSITIONS BECAME CLEAR IN THE MEETING SCHEDULED FOR THE VOTE ON OCTOBER 5, THE BLACK AFRICANS REALIZED THAT THE ARABS WERE IGNORING THEIR INTERESTS: THE ARABS STOOD TO HAVE THEIR AMENDMENTS ADOPTED AT NO COST TO THEMSELVES BUT WITH THE RESULT THAT NO MAJOR WESTERN COUNTRY WOULD ANY LONGER SUPPORT UN PROGRAMS ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
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PRINCIPALLY DIRECTED AT SOUTH AFRICA.

5. BECAUSE OF THIS REALIZATION AND RESULTANT SPLIT BY THE AFRICAN BLOC, THE LEAD COSPONSOR OF THE AMENDMENTS, SOMALIA, ASKED FOR A POSTPONEMENT OF THIS ITEM. AFTER A PERIOD OF TEN DAYS THE ITEM WAS RAISED AGAIN ON OCTOBER 15 WHEN SOMALIA ASKED PERMISSION TO SUBMIT A NEW PROPOSAL INSPITE OF THE FACT THAT THE DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION

OF PROPOSALS (OCTOBER 1) HAD LONG SINCE PASSED. THE US OPPOSED THIS REQUEST, BUT UNSUCCESSFULLY. THE AMENDMENTS WERE WITHDRAWN AND IN ITS PLACE APPEARED A RES WHICH, IN PERTINENT PART, DETERMINED THAT ZIONISM IS A FORM OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

6. THE CLIMAX CAME ON OCTOBER 17 WHEN THE CONSENSUS RES FROM ECOSOC AND THE NEW RES WERE BEFORE THE COMITE. THE US AND EC9 HELD TO THEIR ORIGINAL POSITION THAT IF THIS NEW RES WERE ADOPTED, THERE WOULD BE NO FUTURE SUPPORT FROM THEM FOR THE DECADE PROGRAM. THE EASTERN BLOC AND MUSLIM COUNTRIES, TOGETHER OVER 50 STRONG, STOOD BEHIND THE ZIONIST RES. MODERATE AFRICANS, LED BY SIERRA LEONE AND ZAMBIA, PROPOSED A MOTION FAILED BY A VOTE OF 45(US)-68-16.

7. AFTER A LENGTHY ARAB FILIBUSTER, THE US, EC9, AND OTHER WEOS EXPLAINED THEIR POSITION BEFORE THE VOTE--IF THIS RES WERE TO BE ADOPTED, COOPERATION IN THE UN IN THE AREA OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WAS AT AN END. IN ONE OF THE MORE DRAMATIC AND CERTAINLY SIGNIFICANT MOMENTS FOR THE UN IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, THE ZIONIST RES WAS FINALLY ADOPTED BY A VOTE OF 70-29(US)-27.

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8. IN THE THREE AND ONE HALF WEEKS BETWEEN THE COMITE VOTE AND CONSIDERATION BY THE PLENARY ON NOVEMBER 10, THE EC9 TOOK A DECISION TO LOBBY IN CAPITALS AGAINST THE OFFENDING RES. FOR PERHAPS THE FIRST TIME THEY WERE WORKIN TOGETHER ON AN ISSUE BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL CONCERNS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND NOT COVERED BY THE NATO ALLIANCE. THEIR EFFORTS WERE SUPPORTED BY THE US DEMARCHES AS WELL. THE RESULTS OF THESE DEMARCHES IN CAPITALS, AS WELL AS IN NY, WERE DISAPPOINTING, FOR WHEN BELGIAN MOTION TO DEFER THE ZIONISM RES FOR ONE YEAR WAS MADE, ONLY TEN MORE COUNTRIES SUPPORTED THE DEFERRAL MOTION THAN HAD IN COMITE. THE VOTE ON DEFERRAL WAS 55(US)-67-15; THE VOTE ON THE ZIONIST RES WAS 72-35(US)-32; AND, WITH THE CONSENSUS DESTROYED, THE VOTE ON THE PROGRAM WAS 117-19(US)-5.

9. HUMAN RIGHTS AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. FOR SEVERAL YEARS THE SOVIETS AND THEIR UN ALLIES HAVE PUSHED FOR A DRAFT DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, WHICH IN FACT EMPHASIZED THE RIGHTS OF NATION STATES AND NOT THOSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL. THE US AND UK HAVE IN TURN PROPOSED A SERIES OF AMENDMENTS TO SOVIET-SPONSORED DRAFTS WHICH PRINCIPALLY STATED THAT SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SHOULD BE USED FOR THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BENEFIT OF THE INDIVIDUAL NOT THE STATE AND THAT THE INDIVIDUAL REQUIRED PROTECTIONS AGAINST THE USE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY BY THE STATE TO INFRINGE ON HIS HUMAN RIGHTS. THIS YEAR THE SOVIETS WERE DETERMINED TO HAVE THEIR DECLARATION. DURING THE VOTES ON THE WESTERN-INSPIRED AMENDMENTS, FULLY ON HALF OF THE COMITE MEMBERSHIP STAYED ON THE SIDELINES BY ABSTAINING WITH THE RESULT THAT THE US AND UK AMENDMENTS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ONE, WERE ADOPTED BASICALLY BECAUSE THERE ARE MORE WEOW MEMBERS THAN EASTERN EUROPEANS. NEVERTHELESS, THIS REPRESENTED A SUCCESS FOR THE US, AS WHAT OTHERWISE WOULD HAVE BEEN A TEST THAT DEROGATED FROM HUMAN RIGHTS IS ONLY HARMLESS.

10. CHILE. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SESSION IT WAS ASSUMED THAT THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE WOULD BE THE MOST DIFFICULT ISSUE IN THIRD COMITE. MEMBERS OF THE EC9 BEGAN WITH A MILD DRAFT RES THAT AVOIDED CONDEMNATION OF CHILE AND SOUGHT COSPONSORSHIPS BEYOND THE WEOW GROUP. THEY WERE NOT VERY SUCCESSFUL IN THIS ENDEAVOR, WHICH THEY VIEWED AT THE TIME AS NECESSARY TO STRENGTHENING THEIR BARGAINING POSITION WITH THE COSPONSOR OF THE INEVITABLE SOCIALIST/RADICAL NON-ALIGNED DRAFT CONDEMNING THE GOC. THE THIRD SUGGESTION FOR A DRAFT RES CAME FROM THE HEAD OF THE AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON CHILE, ALLANA OF PAKISTAN. HIS PROPOSAL, BASICALLY

A LONG LIST OF SPECIFIC ACTIONS THAT THE GOC MUST TAKE, WAS EVEN MORE OBJECTIONABLE THAN THE STRAIGHT CONDEMNATION BECAUSE IT WAS SUCH AN OVERREACHING INTERFERENCE IN CHILEAN AFFAIRS. IN PRIVATE CONSULTATIONS A COMPROMISE TEXT WAS AGREED TO THAT SOME OF THE ORIGINAL WEO CO-SPONSOR WERE UNWILLING TO COSPONSOR. IT AVOIDED A CONDEMNATION OF CHILE AND RATHER APPEALED TO CHILE TO RESPECT PROVISIONS OF THE COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

11. THE DEBATE ON THIS SUBJECT COULD LEAVE NO ILLUSIONS ON WHY IT WAS POSSIBLE TO GATHER MAJORITY SUPPORT FOR A RES ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE. FOR THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND SOME OTHERS THEIR SUPPORT OF THIS RES WAS MOTIVATED PRIMARLY BY A CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS ON CHILE. NOT SO FOR THE SOVIET LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BLOC AND RADICAL NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES WHO SUPPORTED A HUMAN RIGHTS RES ONLY BECUASE IT WAS CRITICAL OF A RIGHTEST GOVERNMENT LITTLE TO THEIR LIKING. AS FOR MR. ALLANA, HE WAS BIASED AND SANCTIMONIOUS, AND HIS UNNECESSARILY LURID PRESENTATION OF THE PRELIMINARY REPORT INSURED AS PERHAPS NOTHING ELSE COULD THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS WORKING GROUP WILL NOT BE ADMITTED TO CHILE. CHILE, IN ITS DEFENSE, ATTACKED THE SOVIET BLOC AND DESCRIBED THE RES AS AN INADMISSIBLE INTERFERENCE IN ITS OWN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THERE WAS SYMPATHY FOR THE POSITION THAT THIS RES WAS AN INADMISSIBLE INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AND SOME OF THE ABSTENTIONS AND NO VOTES REFLECTED NOT ONLY BILATERAL RESLATIONS WITH CHILE BUT ALSO A REAL FEAR THAT IT MIGHT BE COME OTHER SMALL COUNTRY NEXT IN CHILE'S PLACE. FOR ITS PART THE US SUPPORTED THE RES, INSPITE OF THE OBVIOUS HYPOCRISY OF SOME OF ITS SPONSORS, BECAUSE OF CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE AND BECAUSE CHILE HAD RENEGED ON ITS PLEDGE TO ADMIT THE WORKING GROUP OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (HRC). THE RES ON CHILE WAS ADOPTED IN COMITE BY A VOTE OF 88(US)-11-20.

12. AMNESTY PROPOSAL. THE US SUBMITTED A RES CALLING FOR AN UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONORS UNTER ITEM 12, THE ECOSOC REPORT. THIS PROPOSAL WENT DIRECTLY TO THE HEART OF ALL ISSUES CONCERNING HUMAN RIGHTS, FOR IF THE STATES RELINQUISHES ITS POWER TO PUNISH PERSONS FOR EXERCISING THEIR LEGITIMATE HUMAN RIGHTS--SUCH AS FREE SPEECH AND FREE ASSEMBLY--THEN THESE RIGHTSCAN BE ACTUALLY ENJOYED. FURTHER, THE PROPOSAL WAS AN APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCE OF HEAD OF GOVERNMENT, AND THUS IT WAS NOT MERELY ONE MORE ATTEMPT BY THE UN TO TRANSLATE HUMAN RIGHTS RES IN

A BINDING STANDARD FOR ACTION BY GOVERNMENTS. THE TIMING OF THE INITIATIVE WAS DETERMINED BY THREE FACTORS; IT COULD BE RAISED UNDER THE ECOSOC REPORT; IF POSSIBLE, IT SHOULD NOT BE INTRODUCED WHILE EFFORTS WERE CONTINUING TO DEFEAT THE ZIONISM RES IN PLENARY; AND THE US WOULD NOT BE IN A POSITION TO PROPOSE THIS RES UNTIL IT HAD SECURED IT BONA FIDES BY VOTING IN FAVOR OF THE SPECIFIC CALL TO CHILE TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS

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13. THE ANTI-HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS AT THE UN WAS CAUGHT OFF GUARD, PREDICTABLY, THEIR ONLY TLK ALTERNATIVES WERE TO ATTEMPT TO DEFEAT THE RES G A PROCEDURAL MOTION OR TO AMEND IT OUT OF RECOGNITION/V LED ON BY THE LIKE OF SAUDI ARABIA, CUBA, MADAGASCAJE, MALI, AND BYELORUSSIA,SC SERIES OF AMENDMENTS WERE SUBMITTED, AS OF PART OF A COMMON DESIGN, THE TOTAL EFFECT OF WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN TO TRANSFORM THE RES FROM A CALL TO FREE POLITICAL PRISONERS TO A LEGITIMIZATION OF TERRORIST ACTS AND AN EXCLUSION OF NAY MCONCERN WHATSOEVER FOR PEOPLE IMPRISONED MERELY BECAUSE OF THIER OPINIOFQS AND BELIEFS.

14. INSPITE OF INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS WITH A SERIES OF THIRD WORLD AMBASSADORS AND TWO AMBASSADORIAL MEETINGS OF THE WEO GROUP, THERE WAS NO ROOM FOR COMPROMISE. FOR

ITS PART THE WEO GROUP TOOK ITS STANDARD POSITION THAT IT
WAS AGREAT IDS
BUT THAT WITH THEIR ADVICE IT COULD
HAVE BEEN DONE BETTER. IN FACT THE REALITY IS THAT WITH
THEIR ADVICE LITTLE IF ANYTHING IS DONE IN THE AREA OF
HUMAN RIGHTS TO GENERATE POLITICAL INTEREST IN HUMAN RIGHTS
VIOLATIONS ANYWHERE BUT IN CHILE OR SOUTH AFRICA. FACED
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WITH THE OPTION OF HAVING THE UN ADOPT A RES PREVERTED OUT
OF RECOGNITION BY MALICIOUS AOINDMENTS OR TO WITHDRAW THE
TEXT TO KEEP THE IDEA OF AN AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS
ALIVE IN ITS ORIGINAL FORM, THE US CHOSE THE LATTER
COURSE.

15. TORUTE. IN HIS SPEECH TO THE GA, SECRETARY KISSINGER
CALLED ON UN TO ADOPT A DECLARATION ON TORTURE PREPARED
BY THE CONFERENCE ON CRIME PREVENTION AND CONTROL AND
TO ESTABLISH AN EXPERT WORKING GROUP TO EXAMINE THE
SITUATION AS REGARDS TORTURE IN THE WORLD TODAY. SHORTLY
AFTER HIS STATEMENT USUN PREPARED A DRAFT RES INCORPORATING
THESE TWO SUGGESTIONS. AFTER MODIFICATIONS IN THE DRAFT WERE MADE,
AS SUGGESTED BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT, CONSULTATIONS
AMONG WEO MEMBERS AND OTHER DELS WHO HAD SUPPORTED WORK ON
TORTURE IN THEPAST BEGAN. IN THESE CONSULTATIONS THE US
FACED INTRENCHED OPOSITION FROM THOSE MGTT ASSOCISBED
WITH THE DECLARATION ON TORTURE, PARTICULARLY THE DUTCH.
THE DUTCH ARGUMENT, SHARED BY OTHERS, WAS THAT THE SECRETARY'S
PROPOSAL FOR THE WORKING GROUP WAS TOO PROGRESSIVE AND TOO
FAR-REACHING AND COULD ONLY AROUSE THE SUSPICIONS OF THOSE
GOVERNMENTS WHO PRACTICE TORTURE THEREBY INCITING THEM TO
OPPOSE THE DECLARATION AS WELL.

16. IN TURN PRESENTED COUNTER ARGUMENTS BUT TO NO
AVAIL AS CAUTION SEEMED TO BE THE CONTROLLING TACTICAL
CONSIDERATION FOR MOY
WESTON EUROPEAN DELS. RELUCTANTLY,
THE US DID NOT PRESENT THE REQUEST FOR A WORKING GROUP
BECUASE THIS ITEM CAME BEFORE THE COMITE SO LATE IN ITS
WORK THAT IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN FEASIBLE TO HAVE A FULL
DEBATE ON THE MERITS. NEVERTHELESS, THE US
NEGOTIATED ON THE TEXT OF A LENGTHY PROCEDURAL RES WHICH
PLACES THE ITEM OF TORTURE BEFORE THE NEXT MEETING OF
THE HRC, GIVING AN OPPORTUNITY TO RAISE THE SECRETARY'S
INITIATIVE AT THAT TIME. THE DECLARATION ON TORTURE WAS
ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS.

17. INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR (IWY). THE ITEM
RELATED TO IWY PRESENTED THE FOLLOWING CHALLENGES TO THE
US DEL: TO HAVE THE GA TAKE POSITIVE ACTION ON THE WORLD

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PLAN OF ACTION ADOPTED AT MEXICO CITY WITHOUT GIVING EXPRESS OR IMPLIED APPROVAL TO THE DECLARATION OF MEXICO OR TO THE FIVE SEPARATE RESES ADOPTED THERE THAT THE US VOTED AGAINST. THE MAIN FOCUS OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT WAS AN OMNIBUS RES, WHOSE PRINCIPAL CO-SPONSORS-- PHILIPPINES, MEXICO, AND IRAN--MADE GENUINE EFFORTS TO FIND A TEXT AGREEABLE TO ALL. THE NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES WERE EXTENSIVE, BUT IN THE INITIAL STAGES WERE EXCLUSIVELY AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. IN THE END THESE MORE MODERATE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WERE UNABLE TO KEEP THE GA FROM GIVING BLANKET ENDORSEMENT TO "ACTION PROPOSALS" IN THE DOCUMENTS OF MEXICO CITY, WHICH INCLUDED THE DECLARATION, RESES, AND PLAN OF MOST OF THE FINAL TEXT WAS COMPLETELY ACCEPTABLE TO THE US AND PROVIDED THE NECESSARY IMPETUS TO GO AHEAD WITH WOMEN'S PROGRAMS. THE PLENARY VOTE ON THE KEY PARAGRAPHING AN ENDORSEMENT TO ALL THE "ACTION PROPOSALS" BEN MEXICO CITY WAS 83-24(US)-26.

18. A SPATE OF OTHER RESES ON THIS SUBJECT WAS ALSO PRESENTED. THOSE THAT DEALT WITH PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN AS SUCH WERE ADOPTED BY CONSENSUS AS WAS ONE COSPONSORED BY THE US CALLING ON UNDP TO ASSIST GOVERNMENTS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE ROLE OF WOMEN WHEN DESIGNING DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS. ONE EFFECT OF EFFORTS OF MEXICO, IRAN AND THE PHILIPPINES WAS THAT THE EASTERN BLOC COUNTRIES KEPT THEIR OBJECTIONAL PROPOSALS IN THE FORM OF SEPARATE RESES DRAFTED IN THE TYPICAL SOVIET STYLE OF CALLING FOR MASS STRUGGLES TO ELIMINATE ALL THINGS NOT FAVORED BY THE SOVIETS, FROM COLONIALISM TO THE ARMS RACE. THE US OPPOSED THESE TWO RESES. OF INTEREST WAS THE FINAL MEXICO EXPLANATION OF VOTE, IN WHICH MEXICO ATTEMPTED TO EXPLAIN ITS EARLIER VOTE DEFINING ZIONISM AS A FORM OF RACISM AND TO REGAIN THE IMAGE OF A FOREIGN POLICY MORE BALANCED AS REGARDS MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS.

19. OTHER ITEMS. MORE THAN HALF THE ITEMS ASSIGNED TO THE THIRD COMMITTEE EITHER PRESENTED NO PROBLEMS, GENERATED LITTLE POLITICAL INTEREST, OR WERE SIMPLY DEFERRED FOR LACK OF TIME. THE CONSIDERATION OF NARCOTICS ITEM UNDER THE ECOSOC REPORT WAS HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL FROM THE US POINT

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OF INTEREST AS FOUR RESES, ALL COSPONSORED BY THE US, WERE

ADOPTED WITHOUT NEGATIVE VOTES. THE REPORT OF THE UNHCR WAS
SIMILAR, WITH TWO RESES BEING APPROVED BY CONSENSUS AND
ONE APPROVED WITH VOTE, INCLUDING ONE ON DISPLACE
PERSONS IN INDOCHINA AND ANOTHER CALLING FOR A CONFERENCE
OF PLENIPOTENTIARIES ON TERRITORIAL ASYLUM. THE ITEM ON
SELF-DETERMINATION PRODUCED A FAMILAR RES ON WHICH THE US,
JOINED BY 17 COUNTRIES, (PRINCIPALLY FROM WESTERN EUROPE)
ABSTAINED. THE ITEM ON A NTERNATIVE APPROACHES AND WAYS
AND MEANS FOR IMPRIVING THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN
RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMSII
R CONCLUDED WITH A
PROCEDURAL RES DEFERRING CONSIDERING UNTIL THE 32
GA; THE ORIGINAL DRAFT WOULD HAVE DEFERRED IN UNTIL THE
31ST GA BUT, A MAJORITY OF COUNTRIES, LED BY THE SOVIETS
AND AMB. BAROODY OF SAUDI ARABIA, PUT OFF THE ITEM
FOR ANOTHER YEAR AS THEY PREFER THAT ANY STRENGTHENING
OF HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY BE POSTPONED INDEFINITELY. FINALLY,
FOR LACK OF TIME, 8 ITEMS WERE SIMPLY DEFERRED UNTIL THE
31ST GA.

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THOSE ITEMS ARE:

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ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION;

71 WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION;

72 POLICIES AND PROGRAMS RELATING TO YOUTH;

79 ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE;

81 NATIONAL EXPERIENCE IN ACHIEVING FAR-REACHING
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES FOR THE PURPOSE
OF SOCIAL PROGRESS;

83 FREEDOM OF INFORMATION;

84 STATUS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON
ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS, THE
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RIGHTS AND THE OPTIONAL PROTOCOL TO THE
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RIGHTS;

85 UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE FOR AN INTERNATIONAL
CONVENTION ON ADOPTION LAW.

20. VOTING PATTERNS. IT COMES AS NO SURPRISE THAT THERE ARE DISCERNIBLE TENDENCIES AMONG REGIONAL GROUPS IN VOTES ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. BASED ON A SURVEY OF VOTES ON SIX KEY HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES THIS GA IN WHICH AGREE- GATE POSITIONS WERE SCORED FROM PLUS 12 (PRO-HUMAN RIGHTS) TO -12 (ANTI-HUMAN RIGHTS), THE REGIONAL GROUPS RANK IN DESCENDING ORDER AS FOLLOWS: WEO (8.9); LATIN AMERICAN (1.4); AFRICA (-1.8); ASIA (-3.5); AND EASTERN EUROPE (-7.2). WITHIN EACH REGION, THOSE STATES MOST OPPOSED TO HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES TEND TO BE COMMUNIST, RADICAL/LEFTIST, OR MUSLIM.

21. THIS REGIONAL VOTING PATTERN REVEALS THE CONSTRAINTS ON THE ABILITY OF THE US TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS. ANY SUCH INITIATIVE, ESPECIALLY ONE WITH POTENTIAL MIDDLE EAST OVERTONES, WILL TRIGGER AUTOMATIC OPPOSITION FROM ABOUT 65 MEMBERS. THE MAXIMUM CONSISTENT SUPPORT FOR SUCH MEASURES COMES FROM ONLY 24 WEO MEMBERS AND A HANDFUL OF LATIN AMERICAN AND AFRICAN STATES.

22. THE WEAKNESS OF ELABORATION. AT ITS BEGINNING THE UN DECLARED THAT INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS WERE A VALID CONCERN OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. SINCE ITS BEGINNING, HOWEVER, HUMAN RIGHTS WORK IN THE UN HAS CONSISTED ALMOST

EXCLUSIVELY OF ELABORATING DECLARATIONS AND CONVENTIONS ON THE SUBJECT. IT HAS SCRUPULOUSLY AVOIDED PUTTING THEM TO ANY REAL POLITICAL EFFECT. THIS IS A TENDENCY THAT THE SOVIET ARE VERY COMFORTABLE WITH, AND EVEN THE MAJORITY OF WEO DELS IN THE THIRD COMITE PREFER TO CONTINUE THE ENDLESS ELABORATION OF TEXTS RATHER THAN THROW A POLITICAL SPOTLIGHT ON ACTUAL HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ON A WORLDWIDE SCALE. AS SECRETARY KISSINGER SAID IN HIS GENERAL DEBATE STATEMENT, PROGRESS IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS REQUIRES THE ORGANIZES CONCERN OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. THROUGH ITS EFFORTS AT THE 30TH GA, THE US DEL ATTEMPTED TO ORGANIZE THE CONCERN, BUT IT IS A LONELY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TASK THAT ONLY A FEW MEMBERS OF THE THIRD COMITE ARE INCLINED TO ASSIST IN.

23. OLD GOALS. FOR DECADES THE WEST HAS WORKED WITH A COMPLETE LACK OF SUCCESS TO HAVE THE UN ADOPT SATISFACTORY HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS ON FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND FREEDOM FROM RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE. THIS IS LIKEWISE TRUE FOR IMPROVING THE HUMAN RIGHTS MACHINERY OF THE UN, SUCH AS IT EXISTS. THE WEST NO LONGER EVEN PRESENTS A CREDIBLE THREAT TO THE ANTI-HUMAN RIGHTS BLOC ON THESE ISSUES, AS THEY ARE PERENNIALY PUSHED TO THE END OF THE AGENDA AND DISPOSED OF PROCEDURALLY. THE BETTER WAY, AS WITH THE AMNESTY PROPOSAL, IS TO RAISE SUBSTANTIALLY THE SAME QUESTIONS UNDER THE ECOSOC REPORT, FOR AS LONG AS THERE WILL BE RESES ON CHILE, THE ANTI-HUMAN RIGHTS BLOC WILL WANT THE FULL AND EARLY DISCUSSION OF THE ECOSOC ITEM.

NEW TACTICS ARE NEEDED TO BREAK OUT OF THIS STALEMATE WHICH IS COMFORTING PRINCIPALLY TO THE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR FRIENDS.

24. THE DEBASEMENT OF LANGUAGE. THE PERSISTENT EFFORTS OF THE ANTI-HUMAN RIGHTS BLOC, INSPIRED BY STALINIST TERMINOLOGY, ERODE FURTHER EACH YEAR THE LANGUAGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS FAMILIAR TO THE WEST. ORWELLIAN INVERSIONS OF LANGUAGE--WITH PEACE BECOMING WAR; JUSTICE, INJUSTICE; AND FREEDOM, REGIMENTATION-- ARE STANDARD TO THE UN LEXICON. THE MOST NOTICABLE ADDITION THIS YEAR WAS DEFINING ZIONISM TO BE A FORM OF RACISM, BUT THE PROCESS DID NOT STOP THERE. IN SPEAKING ON THE SUBJECT OF TORTURE THE REP OF THE PLO CLAIMED THAT THE PALESTININA PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SUBJECTED TO MASS TORTURE FOR A QUARTER OF A CENTURY IN THAT THEY HAVE BEEN DENIED THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION; AFTER THEN TALKING EXCLUSIVELY ABOUT SELF-DETERMINATION HE CONCLUDED HIS NON-GERMANE COMMENTS WITH THE STATEMENT

THAT "THE CONSTITUTION OF ISRAELI MILITARY COURTS FOR
SUMMARY MOCK TRIAL REMINDS US TO THE JUSTICE ADMINISTERED
BY THE HITLERITE HORDES IN THE 1940S." IN SHORT, THE
ONLY HUMAN RIGHT CONGENIAL TO MANY UN MEMBERS IS SELF-
DETERMINATION, AND OTHER HUMAN RIGHTS EXIST IN RELATION-
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ACTION IO-10

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25. THE FUTURE. THIS DEBASEMENT OF LANGUAGE, ROBBING
THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS WE KNOW IT OF ALL

VALIDITY, IS CERTAINLY THE MOST DIRECT THREAT POSED
BY HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION AT THE UN. YET, THERE IS NO
SHORTAGE OF OTHER DANGERS. FIRST, WITH THE ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL COVENANTS COMING INTO FORCE IN EARLY 1976
AND THE POLITICAL AND CIVIL COVENANT ONLY ONE RATIFI-
CATION SHORT OF COMING INTO FORCE, THE DANGER EXISTS
THAT THE SOVIETS WILL INSIST THAT ALL FUTURE HUMAN
RIGHTS CONCERNS BE EXPRESSED ONLY THROUGH THE REPORT-

ING MECHANISM SET UP UNDER THE COVENANTS. IF THIS ARGUMENT IS ACCEPTED, THE POSSIBILITY OF BRINGING REAL POLITICAL WEIGHT TO BEAR ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS WILL BE ONE MORE STEP REMOVED.

26. THE ONE THING THAT CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AT THE UN IS DOING EFFECTIVELY IS TO CREATE A CLASS OF PARIAH STATES. AS SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID POLICY IS RACIST, AND RACIST PRACTICE ARE ILLEGAL, THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA LOSES ITS RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GA. THE DETERMINATION THAT ZIONISM IS A FORM OF RACISM IS ALREADY A WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TO MOVE ISRAEL CLOSER TO THE CONDITION OF OUTLAWRY, AND FOR DIFFERENT REASONS CHILE HAS GOOD CAUSE TO FEAR THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOMINATING IT FOR A SIMILAR STATUS.

27. THE ONE ACTION OF THE THORD COMITE THAT HAS THE DEEPEST AND BROADEST IMPLICATIONS IS THE ADOPTION OF THE RES ON ZIONSIM. ITS COSPONSORS AND SUPPORTERS WERE NOT EXPECTING THE STRONG OPPOSITION PRESENTED BY WESTERN DELS AND THOSE MODERATE AFRICANS MOST CONCERNED ABOUT REAL RACISM. ITS ADOPTION HAS WEAKENED THE MORAL AUTHORITY OF THE UN AND PROVIDED A STRONG BLOW TO UN PROGRAMS AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION. THE PRICE FOR THIS RES WILL CONTINUE TO BE PAID IN TERMS OF A WEAKER UN, A SPLIT BETWEEN THE MODERATE AFRICANS AND THEIR RADICAL AND MUSLIM COLLEAGUES AND, AS IN THE CASE OF MEXICO, IN BILATERAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS.

28. THE THIRD COMITE OF THE 30TH GA BROUGHT MUCH TO LIGHT BUT ACCOMPLISHED LITTLE POSITIVE. CERTAINLY, IT PROVIDED AN OCCASION IN THE VOTE ON ZIONISM TO SEPARATE A NUMBER OF AFRICANS FROM THEIR POSITION OF BLIND ALLIES TO THE ARAB CAUSE, BUT IT DID SO ONLY AT A COST OF A MALICIOUS AND NEGARIOUS DECISION. WHILE NOT ADOPTED, THE AMNESTY PROPOSAL RAISED NEW IDEAS AND ASKED THE RIGHT QUESTIONS OF A BODY THAT PROFESSES A GENUINE CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE IMPASSES THOUGH REMAINS THE SAME AS THE PAST: DOCUMENTS ARE ADOPTED BUT NOTHING IS ACCOMPLISHED TO SAFEGUARD THE INDIVIDUAL FROM THE OPPRESSION OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS.

29. "IN THAT CASE" SAID THE DODO SOLEMNLY, RISING TO ITS FEET, "I MOVE THAT THE MEETING ADJOURN, FOR THE IMMEDIATE ADOPTION OF MORE ENERGETIC REMEDIES." MOYNIHAN

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